1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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rule, use their fingers. Some attention is given to washing the hair with yucca roots, but not that of the Pueblos. A little mountain sheep grease worked up in the hands is rubbed on the hair to make it shine.

According to informants, hair cuttings are burned so that the birds cannot use them in nest-building, which the natives would not like. But I noted that hair clippings were left strewn about the camps. No care is taken of nail pairings.

Older men wear scanty beards and moustaches, but facial hair is usually plucked out, except from the tender spot under the lower lip.

Necklaces are worn by both children and adults. They are not made locally but obtained from the Mohave through the Walapai. Arrowheads are strung on them, or a single specimen is hung about the neck on a thong, or sewn to the shoulder of the shirt, like an epaulet, to prevent sickness and bad luck.[1] One specimen (50.2–1621), modern in type, but showing affinity with the Colorado River tribes, is a single string of trade beads, alternately blue and white in centimeter lengths, from which hangs a roughly crescentic shell pendant. Usually such necklaces consist of many strings similarly arranged. Men also wear the shell and turquoise type obtained from the Navaho and Hopi.

When infants are one day old, the lobes of their ears are pierced by a relative or friend with a sharp twig. A cotton cord is looped through to keep the hole open and deer or mountain sheep grease smeared on to soothe the pain. The action is said to be ornamental in intent, and without esoteric significance, but piercing the ears is supposed to prevent deafness—despite an obvious example to the contrary! Ear pendants are worn by persons of all ages. These are turquoise or abalone beads hung on short cotton cords obtained from the Hopi; 5 cm. long for men but 15 cm. for women, so as to hang level with the collar bones.

Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times.[2]

Beside those of silver, bright red finger rings are made of the flat spines of the barrel cactus. Holding the spine between thumb and forefinger, a brand is touched to its middle, until it can be sprung into a ring (*sŏltŏrĭtăkŏ*; *sŏl*, finger, hand; *dădă*, barrel cactus spine). These are purely decorative.

While face painting (*djidŭbĭgă*) is indulged in by both sexes and all ages, it is neither very brilliant nor in daily use. To be sure, girls paint themselves more frequently than matrons in order to enhance their

[1] But not especially to ward off lightning, as among the Hopi (Hough, (a), 238).
[2] Cushing, (a), 548.

[Text continues on p. 196]

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white (?) earth) the gypsum found in Cataract Canyon is roasted in ashes for half a day. When cool, it is ground to powder, and mixed with water for use. This is always prepared fresh when desired. Sienna paint (*vialtâ̈lîva*, mescal—) is the dried juice of roasted mescal (p. 106). The stick or small bundle of yucca fiber used as a brush is rubbed on a lump of this paint wet with saliva.

Children paint their faces with the colored scales from butterflies' wings.

Tattooing (*dënyûdîgd*[1]) is very moderate, consisting usually of small decorations on the center of the forehead, less frequently on other parts of the face, occasionally on the back of the hand, but never on other

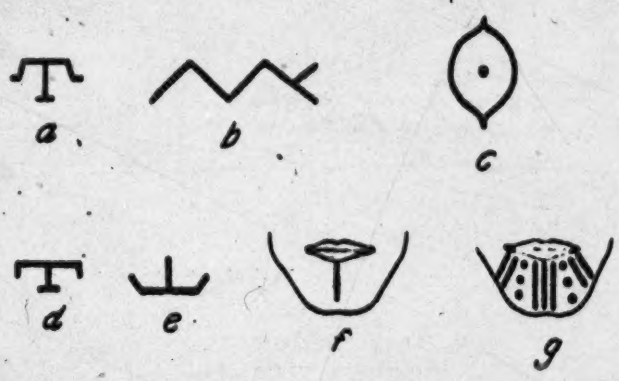

Fig. 48. Tattoo Designs. *a-e*, Center of man's forehead; *f*, *g*, Woman's chin.

parts of the body (Fig. 48). Besides those figured, others consist of a spot on each cheek, or a small circle in the center of the forehead. Tattooing is used by men, women, and children; with purely decorative intent. The design is pricked in with cactus spines which are moistened and dipped into ground charcoal. More charcoal is rubbed into the punctures during the four or five days succeeding before the wounds heal.

Comparative Notes

The problem of dress in the Southwest is not a simple one, for the original styles have been obscured both by successive adoptions of colonial Spanish patterns and by the apparent introduction of Plains garments. The changes in the colonial garments and their adaptation, principally

[1] Also signifying writing: *pad'nyûdî* means both photograph and camera (*apâ*, man).

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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The Yavapai resemble the Havasupai in their preference for red paint and in their use of the juice of burnt mescal.[1] 171 302

In this connection it is interesting to note that red paint is associated with war by some of these tribes and further that its use may have spread westward in recent times. The Wind River Shoshoni and Klamath use it in war.[2] I have recorded an incident (p. 361) in which a Paiute who has killed a Mormon is painted red. Powers noted that red paint, having a war-like significance, was introduced among the Yokuts from the Mono about 1860 and among the Karok with the Ghost dance of 1870. Miss A. H. Gayton also found that the ghost dance of 1870 brought red and black face paint into more general use among the Foothill Yokuts. At the same time the Moapa state that their red paint is derived from Shivwits territory, the Cahuilla that theirs is from Arizona, and the Mohave derive at least the best of theirs, like the Havasupai, from the Walapai. The Pima formerly obtained the paint from the Mohave, but in recent years from the Yuma. Finally a Southern Diegueño stated that it was brought from the Mohave country about 1875. On the other hand, the Salinan made red pigment of cinnabar, mined in that region.[3]

Tattooing is a practice which in the Southwest is almost entirely confined to the lower Colorado tribes and their neighbors. Mohave, Yuma, Southern Diegueño, Maricopa, Pima, and Yavapai women only are usually tattooed; the decoration is restricted to the chin, usually in the form of a few lines drawn downward from the corners of the mouth or under the lower lip.[4] In addition the lower eyelid of Pima men and women is tattooed and men have marks on the temples and forehead. Sirhilarly, both sexes among the Havasupai, Walapai (?), and White Mountain Apache[5] are tattooed, but only in the simplest fashion with small marks. Tattooing sometimes occurs among the Pueblos and the Northern Shoshoni, but it is no more than this. On the other hand, the Navaho do not tattoo,[6] and it may be suspected that this was formerly true of the Pueblos and White Mountain Apache.[7] 171 304

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[1]Corbusier, 281.

[2]Lowie, (i), 207. But all the Maricopa painted red in token of amity, according to Patte (1932).

[3]Powers, 42, 281, 307. Powers assumes a war-like implication for red paint, but Miss Gayton tells me that this was an error of the local whites, while the ghost dance was entirely peaceful in Yokuts thought. Lowie, (i), 211; Kroeber, (g), 62; Russell, (d), 161; Spier, (e), 341; Mason, J. A., (a), 129.

[4]Kroeber, (a), 284; Whipple, 114; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 33; Stratton, 74; Treppel, 855 f; Heintzelman, 48; Spier, (e), 342; Bartlett, II, 229; Hrdlička, (e), 45; Russell, (d), 162; Corbusier, 280 f.

[5]Dorsey, G. A., (b), 185.

[6]Lowie, (a), 182. For Zuñi see Hinsley, 388; Franciscan Fathers, 74, 306.

[7]According to Hrdlička [(d), 490] the older Han Carlos are not tattooed, the younger ones having recently learned the custom from the Mohave.

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Tattooing also occurs elsewhere in California. I do not know how closely this resembles the style of the lower Colorado tribes. But the Maidu women, who alone as a rule bear the decoration, have three to seven vertical lines on the chin. There are regional differences among these people. Among Achomawi and Atsugewi, who tattoo but little, the women also have three lines on chin or cheek, the men a line of dots on the temple. This is somewhat like the Klamath custom. Yokuts and Costanoan also tattooed.[1]

[1] Dixon, (a), 167; (d), 210; Merriam, J. A., (b), 139.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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the abdomen, and to this end her mother continues to press it. She is given a little soup, prepared from dry corn, if she wants it. This procedure is repeated on the three subsequent nights. Her husband, too, bathes four times. Sometimes delivery is difficult, labor lasting three days or even four. Then everyone is told to come and advise what course to take. A woman who has a good delivery returns to her tasks after one night; if it has been difficult she can work after four days. Her husband, however, is not prohibited from working. 844 846

Twin births are rare and multiple births have never been heard of. Monsters are unknown. Three instances of twin births were recalled by my old informant: Pakádagó'ovà, now a man of sixty; twin sisters in the past generation; and a pair now dead, were born to a young woman.[1] 845

Twins (*huwdgídjd*) differ from other children only in the sympathetic bond that unites them. If one sickens and dies, the other will also.[2] Pakádagó'ovà's twin sister was destroyed at birth; wrapped in a blanket and buried. To indicate the efficacy of the custom, my informant pointed out that the survivor has lived to be an old man. In this case he did not know which twin was born first, nor why the girl was selected. It is believed that twins are due to the circumstance that the pregnant woman, before the foetus is well-developed, lies first on one side, then turns quickly on the other, thus splitting the "fluid" in two parts. Intercourse during pregnancy does not cause this, yet such relations are improper. [843]

The old women attendants mould the head and face of the new-born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, pinch up the bridge of the nose, pull down the ears, press up the hard palate, and rub the thumb along the gums. They repeat this whenever the baby is washed, straightening the body and limbs, and unclenching the fists. No intentional deformation is practised. Occipital flattening occurs but rarely, and that little is moderate and presumably accidental.[3] [844] 856 [304]

Contraceptive devices are unknown. Some women are barren (*plk'igídadádj*, barren woman—used contemptuously): it is not known why. One does not pray for children, but a young girl who is barren may drink a decoction of ground abalone shell in water. The shell (*hólkdl'ó'pd*) is obtained through the Mohave. The lines on it represent the ocean waves. 842 [439]

[1] The ratio of twin births among whites is 1:80.1 or 93.1 (Zelany, 262). If the death rate for twins is no greater than for others, we would expect to find only one or two living in a population of 176. [163]
[2] A Paviotso belief (Lowie, (l), 298).
[3] Hrdlička, (f), 63 records one instance among twenty-five individuals.

2:Hiff Y-5 (ca.1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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so she must have remembered, the last few weeks before the baby came, to use a stick, not her fingers, to scratch her body. Somehow, she must have avoided hearing the cry of certain wild animals or the creature's spirit would have entered her child, causing it harm. There were other restrictions, but there in that close room I couldn't recall them, neither could I imagine this carefree young mother keeping them in mind.

The baby slept quietly, evidently feeling no pain from her recently pierced ears. According to tribal custom, the grandmother had pierced the ears in several places with a sharp thorn, inserting a thread to keep the wounds open, and rubbing in deer fat to prevent infection. When the little girl was old enough those ears would dangle bright strings of beads, numerous silver ornaments, or bright pieces of wood.

She was such a cunning little thing that I was relieved to learn she was not a twin. There was an old superstition that the souls of twins were in such close sympathy that whatever happened to one must, of necessity, happen to the other. Thus, if one suffered an accident, sickness or death, the other could not escape the same fate. For this reason, one twin was sometimes destroyed at birth. If the grandmother still clung to this superstition, and there had been a twin brother, it would have been her duty to dispose of the girl in order to free the boy of the dual handicap. For among a primitive people, even though men outnumbered the women, the girl would have stood small chance.

A cradleboard, padded with soft cloths, leaned against the wall. The grandmother laid it across her lap, put a blanket on it, then arranged the baby, hands snugly at its sides, body and legs straight. Wrapping the blanket about the infant, she bound her firmly in place. When strong enough to crawl, the child would be released from this confinement and allowed to propel herself about in the manner of all normal children, until she learned to walk. And this stage of development would put to the test the parents' observance of still another superstition. If either had killed a snake in recent months, their baby might be doomed to

interest if it is a boy.

In former times, the ear lobes of a newborn infant were pierced. A long string attached to each ear lobe was ornamented with turquoise beads. 846 854 [301 304]

The infant is usually fed as soon as colostrum appears, or a day or two after birth. The feeding schedule is regulated by the baby's demands or by the mother's desire for relief when her breasts are full. Formerly, if the mother died at the birth or during the nursing period, or if her milk supply failed, the baby was given second place at the breast of another nursing mother. If this milk supply was not adequate for both babies, the second infant was fed a soup made by boiling dried peaches, or a liquid in which mashed juniper berries had been soaked. If no wet nurse was available, the baby was fed entirely on peach soup and a little of the juniper berry juice. In post-contact times, sugar was added to these liquids. At least one elderly man now living is said to have survived on sweetened peach soup until he could digest thin corn gruel. At present, many babies are fed entirely or partially on a formula of equal parts of canned milk and water. 853 [177]

Birth practices for babies born at home have remained essentially as they have been described. However, today many births are attended by white physicians. Babies born in hospitals, of course, do not receive the customary body molding and painting nor the yucca suds bath. There seems to be no consistent effort to perform these acts after the infant is brought home, but from the time he leaves the hospital, routine is much the same as it was in earlier times. 844 177

A couple's firstborn child may receive more attention from the mother than do the later children. A mother usually has full responsibility for her first child, with the exception of some assistance from the baby's grandmothers or unmarried aunts. If the infant happens to have a young aunt in the same household, the aunt may be assigned to tend the baby a large part of the time. Children who are born second, third, or later in a family usually are left with an older sibling while the mother works. If there is a grandmother in the residence group, she also assists with the care of the baby. 854

When the baby is about two weeks old, he is bound tightly in the cradle, which is placed in an upright position for short intervals. Whenever the cradle is in a vertical position, with the infant's arms bound inside, the baby is watched closely to make sure he does not slip down and strangle on the binding strap or smother in the blanket.

When the baby's navel cord drops off, it is wrapped in buckskin or cloth and tied to the hood of the cradle. One informant stated that if this were not done the baby's chest would become flat instead of developing the proper depression in the center. 826 846

578 When I asked my companion the cause of this fight, she shrugged and
857 said, "That [illegitimate] boy is always mean." Questioning was not pur-
865 sued because other people were present. No one was found later who knew, or would state, the reason for the fight. Later observation of the boy did not bear out the judgment that he was "mean." (Leslie Spier, after reading
[114] this account, noted that "It has been my experience with Indians elsewhere, time and again, that they use 'mean' to characterize aggressive behavior rather than saying that the person is irritable, disagreeable, or given to petty jealousies.")

578 Verbal rifts occur more frequently than physical combat. It was observed that if an individual knew another person to be angry with him, he made an effort to keep out of sight until the anger had cooled "because he
[181] (or she) might try to fight me." There is a public attitude of passivity toward disagreements between individuals. Much talking and little action is customary both in private and public quarrels.

Quarrels frequently arise in connection with marital infidelity, land inheritance, boundary disagreements, and gambling debts. On the reservation, jealousy and antagonisms have developed over the few salaried positions available, and alleged favoritism by government employees has occasionally drawn lines between factions. Rivalry over tribal leadership is probably as old as the tribal tradition of chieftainship, with certain disgruntled claimants refusing for a lifetime to concede what they deem rightfully their prerogative.

Discipline

861 Discipline is said to have been more rigid in former times. "Then
[304] parents were strict, real strict. They didn't let their kids get away with everything." Children's ear lobes were pierced and long pieces of sinew or string were threaded through. When a child failed to respond promptly to a request, a jerk on the string brought him into action. Threats of spankings or denial of privileges were carried out if necessary. Small rewards were sometimes promised. A severe measure, apparently used only on boys, was to smoke an offender over a fire of horse dung while he was tied by his heels to a tree limb. Two elderly men are said to have undergone this punishment frequently in their youth. One of them has failed to punish his own sons in this manner, although they are popularly thought to deserve it. They are said to be "mean" "because their father was a mean boy."

Today, parents may note, but display little excitement over their children's misconduct in trivial matters. If one child behaves aggressively toward another or a dispute occurs, parental interference usually is verbal and seldom is loud or angry. Occasionally, a child is slapped or is beaten with a stick, but no severe beatings, or punishments administered in anger

302 are discovered on a child.

177 302 [531] Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials, probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 832 [578] [516] Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

846 292 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 856 [177] In addition to obervance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and upward on the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This routine is suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines, which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added: "I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

291 the neck—to the knees, and supplemented by the half of a blanket tied or pinned with a skewer at the corners across the breast, when it is thrown over the shoulders, depending a little below the waist. Their moccasins, when worn, which is seldom, are not unlike the men's, though lighter.

302 The hair of the men is banged even with the eyes, but worn full length behind, and usually done up in a neat knot, tied with fibre. The women's, worn shorter behind, is banged as low as the chin. The men decorate themselves va-
301 riously. Often a comb of long splints, beautifully plaited together with colored threads, is thrust into the headband, to which two eagle plumes, either white or red, are attached by cords, so as to float about in the wind. Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of
● [304] colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times. Necklaces of shell
[556] and beads of bone, from which sea-shells, rudely cut and etched, depend, are the marks of property. A bow-guard of leather or raw-hide, bangles, either silver or brass, and numerous finger-rings of bright red cactus thorns, sprung together in the fire, complete the list of ornaments, the latter being worn in great numbers by the women, because easily procurable.

302 The faces of both sexes are painted
386 with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ochre, applied dry or with oil extracted from the sunflower seed; varied among the men, sometimes, with streaks of blue paint, prepared from the root of the wild indigo, and put on in streaks, with little wooden spatulæ, under the lower
304 eyelid, and from the under lip down-
302 ward across the chin. Tattooing and mutilations for personal adornment are rare. They consist, besides the piercing of the ears, now and then, in the boring of the nose and the plucking out of the eyebrows,—which, even when natural, are not pronounced,—and almost always

304 in the pulling out of the beard, although
302 whiskers are sometimes permitted to grow in front of the ears; beside occasional mustaches, faint goatees are affected by the young. Scarifications, for ornaments, are not unknown.

515 The women, both old and young, are remarkably careless of personal cleanliness and appearance, nor are the older men superior to them with reference to cleanliness. The young men, however, are noticeably neat in the care of their persons, frequently bathing in the river, and careful of their toilet and dress.

241 I have mentioned the things which are cultivated by the Ha-va-su-pai. On these, as on various roots, wild plants, and fruits, they depend for their vege-
252 table food. Green corn is variously
262 prepared: it is roasted, or boiled in the ear; or cut up and cooked with beans, bits of deer suet, etc., it forms the succotash of the more eastern tribes, and
[412] of historic celebrity. Crushed on a metlatl with a little flat grinding-stone or muller, together with green squashes, so as to form a pulp, it is then boiled, when it becomes gelatinous, resembling the *poi* of the Sandwich Islanders. Like it, also, it is eaten with the two fingers. Sunflower seeds, toasted by being shaken together with live coals in an earth-covered basket tray, then ground, formed into patty-cakes, and slightly baked in the ashes, are eaten as a relish with these and other dishes, in the absence of meat. Indeed, this curious sunflower food takes the place, to a great extent, of meat during the summer months.

251 The corn, while still green, is sometimes prepared for storage, by being roasted, husks and all, in hot sand, while the ripened corn is merely dried on the ear. Food is made of the latter, either
252 by simply parching, or by grinding into meal. The meal, coarse or fine, is then used for samps, mushes, or batters, and cakes, thick or thin, and of many varieties and degrees of wholesomeness.
[262] Melons, pumpkins, peaches, and apricots

[CP:549A]